

## Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 097997 TOSEC 040110

EXDIS, FOR HOUGHTON FROM TARNOFF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, CU, UR

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: SOVIET/CUBAN TROOPS IN  
THE HORN OF AFRICA (S/S 7807582)

1. FOLLOWING IS A REVISED BRIEFING MEMORANDUM (PREPARED BY AF AND S/P) FOR MR. VANCE'S CONVERSATIONS IN MOSCOW. PLEASE SHOW THIS TO LAKE AND, IF ACCEPTABLE, INSERT IN HIS BRIEFING MATERIAL.
2. ISSUE: SOVIET/CUBAN TROOPS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA.
3. U.S. OBJECTIVES: TO REEMPHASIZE THAT WE EXPECT A REDUCTION OF THE CUBAN/SOVIET PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA AND THAT SOVIET ACTIONS IN THE HORN AFFECT U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS.
4. SOVIET OBJECTIVES: TO MINIMIZE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE BY MAINTAINING THAT THE DECISIONS ARE UP TO THE ETHIOPIANS.

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5. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: THE SOVIETS ARGUE THAT, SINCE ETHIOPIA HAS NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST SOMALIA, THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS ARE ONLY ASSISTING WITH ETHIOPIA'S LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE. HOWEVER, THEY SUPPORT THE ETHIOPIAN POSITION THAT ANY MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA

IS DESTABILIZING IN THE ABSENCE OF A SOMALI RENUNCIATION

OF TERRITORIAL CLAIMS.

ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS INITIALLY DENIED ANY INTENTION OF BECOMING INVOLVED IN ERITREA, THEY HAVE RECENTLY ALLUDED TO "IMPERIALIST" SUPPORT FOR THE ERITREAN INSURGENCY, THUS SETTING THE STAGE FOR SOVIET SUPPORT FOR AN ETHIOPIAN OFFENSIVE IN ERITREA. IN YOUR MOST RECENT CONVERSATION WITH DOBRYNIN ON THIS SUBJECT (APRIL 8), HE ACCEPTED YOUR STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET/CUBAN ROLE IN ETHIOPIA WAS PERCEIVED IN THIS COUNTRY AS AN ISSUE IN U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS, BUT HE DISAGREED THAT THIS WAS THE APPROPRIATE WAY OF VIEWING THE ISSUE.

WE HAVE BRIEFED THE ETHIOPIANS, BUT NOT YET THE SOVIETS, IN VERY GENERAL TERMS ON THE MOOSE MISSION TO SOMALIA. THE SCC HAS NOW AGREED ON A FURTHER APPROACH TO SIAD, OFFERING AN EXPANDED MILITARY PACKAGE (DOLS 10 MILLION NON-LETHAL, PLUS DOLS 5 MILLION LETHAL) IN RETURN FOR MORE EXPLICIT ASSURANCES OF SOMALI RESPECT FOR ITS NEIGHBORS' BORDERS.

A COUP ATTEMPT AGAINST SIAD ON APRIL 9 FAILED. WHILE THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN MOGADISCIO IS NOT CLEAR, IT APPEARS THAT THE COUP WAS NOT FOREIGN INSPIRED BUT WAS AN EFFORT BY OPPONENTS OF SIAD AND HIS CLAN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CONFUSION FOLLOWING THE OGADEN WITHDRAWAL.

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MEANWHILE, FURTHER INSURGENT INCIDENTS IN THE OGADEN AND ETHIOPIAN TROOP MOVEMENTS ALONG THE BORDER HAVE AGAIN INCREASED TENSIONS AND LED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ETHIOPIAN ACTIONS AGAINST SOMALIA.

6. POINTS TO BE MADE:

-- WE SUPPORT A NEGOTIATED RESOLUTION OF THE UNDERLYING PROBLEMS IN THE HORN, INCLUDING THE PROBLEM OF ERITREA AND OF THE SOMALI-ETHIOPIAN BORDER. WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH AN APPROACH IS THE ONLY MEANS OF AVOIDING A RECURRENCE OF CONFLICT IN THE AREA. WE WOULD WELCOME SOVIET USE OF ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT IN SUPPORT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

-- WE HAVE WELCOMED THE EARLIER STATEMENTS BY SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES THAT THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS WOULD NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN ERITREA. WE SUPPOSED THESE INDICATED THAT THE U.S.S.R. SHARED OUR DESIRE FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. MORE RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT HAVE RAISED QUESTIONS IN OUR MINDS AS TO WHETHER THIS REMAINS THE SOVIET VIEW.

THE U.S.S.R.'S CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT GIVES IT A STRONG POSITION FROM WHICH TO ENCOURAGE THE DIRG TO WORK FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. SINGLE-MINDED PURSUIT OF A MILITARY SOLUTION WILL INCREASE THE SUFFERING AND BLOODSHED, BUT IT WILL NOT SOLVE THE UNDERLYING ERITREAN PROBLEM.

-- THE INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN FORCES INTO ERITREA WILL DECREASE THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOTIATED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND WILL INCREASE THE TENSION IN THE HORN. IF SOVIET OR CUBAN FORCES ARE USED, THIS WILL UNAVIDABLY BE PERCEIVED AS AN ISSUE IN U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS.

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-- IN OUR CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT OUR WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES DEPENDS ON RECEIVING SATISFACTORY SOMALI ASSURANCES OF RESPECT FOR ITS NEIGHBORS' TERRITORY. ANY EQUIPMENT THAT WE MIGHT PROVIDE WILL BE STRICTLY LIMITED TO SOMALIA'S NEEDS TO PROTECT ITS RECOGNIZED TERRITORY.

7. DRAFTED BY S/P:DSPIEGEL AND AF/E:MR. HAMRICK;  
CLEARED BY S/S:PTARNOFF.

CHRISTOPHER

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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